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133 island. On the east side there are precipitous cliffs either dropping straight to the shore or leaving just enough space on the beach for [36] a row of native huts, fronting the open sea. A reef skirts this coast also, but close inshore.

131 The island of Buka is about thirty-five miles long, and eight or
133 nine wide at the widest part, narrowing very much at both ends.
137 Its most northerly point extends almost to latitude 5° S., its longitude being 154° 40′. The interior of the southern half of the island is covered with thickly forested hills, formed of dolomitic limestone, fairly steep in places but of no great height, dotted with native villages. The northern half is flat, and its interior is used by the natives principally for their gardens, the villages here being confined to the coast. There are no rivers on the east side, but on the west the coast-line is broken by several small streams and one larger river, the Gagan, formed by the junction of two streams about a couple of miles from its mouth. It is lined by mangrove [136] swamps full of crocodiles, and provides the natives with abundance of river reeds to use for thatch in default of sago-palm which is rather scarce.

133 Bougainville is one of the largest of the Solomon Islands, about 160 miles in length with a width of 35–40 miles. This book is concerned with the inhabitants of its northern shore. At 'The Passage' the land is almost flat, but as one passes westwards there is a gradual rise, till about ten miles from the western end the cliffs have reached a height of perhaps 200 to 250 feet. They consist of dolo- [417] mitic limestone, dropping steeply to the sea, but climbable in many places with the aid of notched logs at the steepest parts (see Pl. 2 *a*). They are covered with vegetation wherever a crack or a crevice enables the smallest amount of soil to accumulate. A coral reef comprising many species, but largely composed of a variety of Hexacorallia,[1] lines the shore. At its outer edge great breakers crash incessantly on all but a very few days in the year, making it an exciting business to launch a canoe through the surf. Owing to the difficulty of approaching it by sea, this portion of the coast [36] offers little inducement to white settlers, and is occupied by a string of native villages, among them Kurtatchi, my head-quarters for nine months. Towards the north-eastern corner of the island

[1] For the identification of this and other geological specimens which I brought home I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

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PLATE 2

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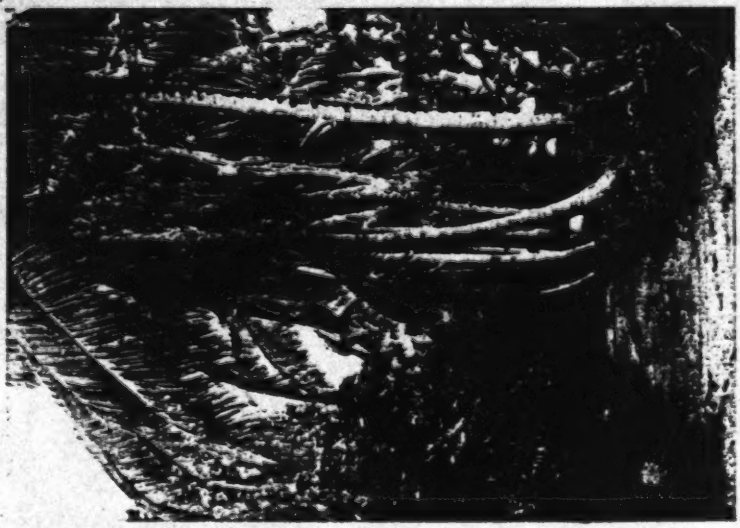

b. THE GOVERNMENT ROAD

417

a. THE WAY TO THE SHORE

[facing p. 3]

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much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive use of the men and boys (*tobăr*). In the Bougainville villages these must be used by the boys wearing the *api* (headgear indicating that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *api*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *tobăr* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments. Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front portion of the hut belonging to the *tauaun* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

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PLATE 7

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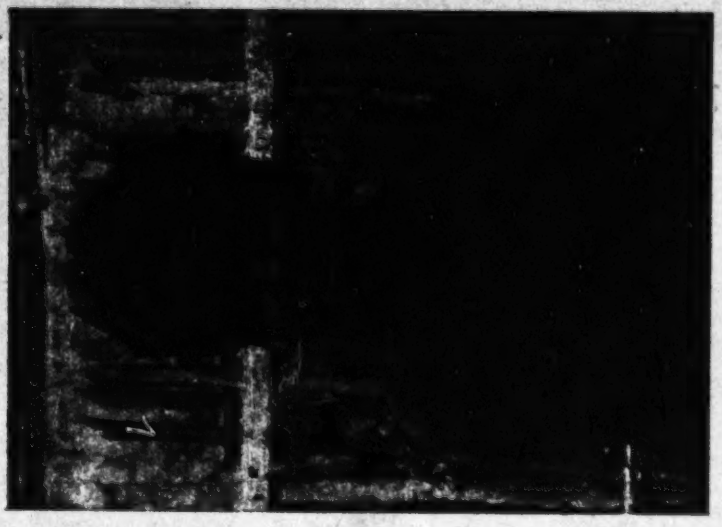

b. TAKON, WIFE OF WASE

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301

a. TAGOAL COMING TO VISIT HER HUSBAND'S PEOPLE

[Facing p. 87]

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583 595 the young wife of Wasĕ, aged perhaps ten (Pl. 7*b*), was thus living in Wasĕ's hut at the time of my residence.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

585 No further ceremony takes place until the girl has 'grown big'. Some people wait until she has menstruated for the first time before they hold the feast at which she is given to her husband, sometimes it is held before she has menstruated, in which case the husband does not wait for this to happen before consummating the marriage.

585 285 [386] [438] When the time for this feast is getting near, all the women *kōma* (dance and yell, see p. 414). At first they *kōma* without feasting for several nights. They prepare baskets to hold the food to be used in the ceremony. These are made of a kind of rattan cane dyed red (*riri*). The coastal people are obliged to buy this red cane from the people of the mountains, who alone know the secret of the dye. The baskets are trimmed with *beroan* round the edges, and trade beads are hung over them. Before they had any trade beads they used dogs' teeth for this purpose. The baskets are also trimmed with all sorts of aromatic plants and leaves. The boy's mother makes one basket, the girl's mother makes another. The general name for these baskets is *seban*; the special name for baskets made by the people of the Nakarib clan is *kuwir* or *kuwirtsun*, for those of the Naboin clan *popalat*. When the baskets are finished, all the women come with them and hang them up on the branch of a tree, then the women take bows and arrows, paddles, axes, &c., and jump about (*sani*) waving them, and the slit-gong is beaten.

585 When the time for the feast is close at hand, the basket made by the boy's mother is taken down and put in her hut. The girl's people come and fetch it, bringing in exchange the basket made by the girl's mother. This is a sign that the girl's mother has enough pigs and other food for the marriage ceremony. They take back the basket made by the boy's mother, which remains for a while at the house of the girl's mother, and the women of the girl's village go through the same performance with the bows and arrows and paddles.

[417] Meanwhile, the people of the boy's village have been making a platform (*timan*) out of split areca-palm trunks. The men make it in the bush, and leave it on the road close to the village. The women of the village go, singing, and ornament it with flowers and

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585 The boy and the girl are then supposed to weep, the girl a great deal, the boy only a little; he must shed tears but must not cry aloud, he would be ashamed to do so. Some boys do not weep at all.

They are carried round in *kōma* formation, accompanied by all the other people. They go round once only, then the girl is taken back to her own hut, and the boy to the hut he slept in the night before. This may be the *tobar* (boys' house), but if he has friends in the village he may sleep with them.

When the sun is well up they all *kōma* again, the couple being carried as before.

585 A platform has been prepared beforehand, made of areca-palm
● 417 planks, and laid on the *tagoan* of the girl's mother's hut. It is ornamented with flowers and aromatic plants, canarium almond and sugar-cane, &c., and is covered with women's hoods. A fence is set up round it, made of coco-nut palm leaves, so that it is all enclosed.

585 When the *kōma* is finished, and the couple have been carried round once again, all the people who will in future stand to the boy in the relation of *waris* (his wife's parents, actual and classificatory) sit down on the ground in two lines opposite to each other, with their legs stretched out so that the soles of the feet of those composing one line are touching the soles of the feet of the people in the other line. The rest of the people keep up the *kōma*. The bridal pair are carried round the dancers once, then they are set down, and must walk along the line of outstretched legs.

After this the bridal pair and those accompanying them go inside the enclosure. The relative of the girl who has been carrying the boy sits down on the platform that has been prepared inside the enclosure, and takes the boy on his knees. Then the relative of the boy who previously carried the girl sits down beside him and takes the girl on her knees. The two sit side by side, close together. All the women put on their hoods. From now onwards the rules of avoidance between the husband and his wife's parents (*waris*), and between the parents of husband and parents of wife (*suwan*), must be observed. (For these see Chap. II, pp. 72–5.) Then
585 the boy's father takes the girl's legs and lays them across the legs of
184 the boy, so that the boy's legs are underneath and the girl's over them. In an account obtained from Tabut it was said that the boy's father takes one of the girl's legs and lays it across the boy, and then takes one of the boy's legs and lays it across the girl, so

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852 where they are carefully wrapped up in leaves, one *karios* in each
565 package. The women cook some taro and cut it into very small
602 pieces. Little baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves are prepared,
574 and are filled with these small pieces of taro. On the top of each basket is put a package containing *karios*, the relish. Each of the women who are *watʃitʃio* to the child then receives one of these baskets, and must eat the contents sitting on the *tagoan*, the front or men's verandah, if the child is a boy, on the *babots*, the back or women's verandah, if it is a girl. They may, if they wish, send some of the food to other women, who do not, however, partake of it in their company. But all the small children of the village, who come crowding round, are given some *karios* and taro. Then
[417] a small enclosure is prepared, on the women's side of the huts, in any convenient vacant spot. It is made of small logs. They explained that it was the same sort of enclosure as they make to keep wild pigs caught in preparation for a feast, which is made of logs piled up one on top of another. Into this enclosed space must be thrown all the taro peelings and other remains of the little feast, and the baskets in which taro and *karios* had been placed, which must first be torn to pieces. After this time the child's excreta
[859] must be thrown into this enclosure, until it can walk. It is too dangerous to throw them away into the bush as is done with those of a commoner, since some ill-disposed person might find them and use them to the child's harm.

4. *For first coming outside hut.*

852 As was previously stated, in the case of persons who are *tsunaun*,
565 mother and child must remain inside the hut for ten days after
[417] birth instead of the five prescribed for a commoner. On the ninth day a palisade is erected round the hut, making a little enclosure. Next day the child is brought out, coming first into this enclosure. Then all the women of the village sit down with their legs touching (*aseras parar a gutan*, legs are fixed together), in the same position as is used in the marriage ceremony. The line of women stretches between the hut in which the child was born and the shore. Then a man, who may be one of the child's grandfathers, of either clan, or may be no relation, takes up the child and walks with it over the outstretched legs of the women to the beach. If there are not enough women in the village to reach so far, those at the back get up and go and sit down again in front of the line when the child

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The women cook a quantity of taro, which must be roasted in the embers, not boiled in a pot. The novices and their *amro* go into the bush and catch a number of opossums and small non-poisonous snakes. These they must bring in alive. They are placed carefully in baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves. Areca-nut and betel-pepper is put in with them. The *amro* take the baskets to the village. Here they form a line. All the women who have sons among the novices form a line opposite to them, carrying baskets full of taro. They sing a special tune and do a dance-step called *dāni*. They weep all the time they are dancing, and every one who hears the singing feels sad and weeps also. It is forbidden to perform this dance except under these circumstances, so I was not able to see it or to hear the tune. Everybody agreed that it was specially fine. The *amro* then pretend to throw the contents of their baskets at the women, who pretend to catch in their own baskets. Then both lines advance towards each other, but do not quite meet, because a low palisade of boughs put up for the purpose in the centre of the village square remains between them. Through gaps in it the *amro* exchange baskets with the women. This exchange of baskets is called *wan'emor*. Each woman exchanges with the man who is acting as *amro* to her son. As the exchange is made, the *amro* say: 'You take these baskets of betel-pepper which belong to us.' The women take the baskets and run away quickly to their own huts, they are supposed to be afraid of the *amro*. The next stage was thus described: 'The women go to their huts, they think they would like to eat some betel-pepper. One woman opens her basket. The opossum inside is very lively. It bites her hand. She cries out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a 'possum; I thought it was betel-pepper when I took it.' Another woman wants to eat betel-pepper, she opens her basket, a snake runs after her. 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a snake; I thought it was betel-pepper.'

After the exchange of baskets the *amro* go back to the novices in the bush. The *kwigin* also assemble at the *nānō*, and the *kwigin* of highest standing in each clan gives the boys of his clan their new names. He climbs a tree (any tree suitably situated can be used for this purpose), and the boys of his clan group themselves at its foot. The *kwigin* then calls out the new name of each. This name he is supposed to receive from the *war*. It must be the name of some one who has belonged to the group and has died, and thus become an *war*. Stress was laid by my informants on the fact that the

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they wanted the *tsunaun* to see the hats they had made. All the men who were *tsunaun* said: 'They are good. You go now and eat some pig. You are making very sacred things.'

The teller of this story volunteered the statement that nowadays, if a woman behaved as did the woman in the tale, they would not be able to kill her, because the Government had forbidden it. They would all have intercourse with her, and then somebody would 'make poison' against her and she would die, but it would not be known who was responsible for her death.

PRELIMINARIES

When all the preparations are complete, a hut is built in the bush, and the boys must sleep there for two nights. The *amro* accompany them. During this time the boys are not allowed to eat anything except one small piece of taro. The reason given for this abstinence is that if they were to eat too much they would be too heavy to be carried on the shoulders of the *amro* during the ceremony.

While the boys are in the bush, the people of the village where the *watawutf* is to be held set up platforms in the centre of the village and cover them with food. All the villages which are sending boys to the ceremony help in providing this food. Vast quantities are required, as people come from villages scattered over a wide area. At the one to be held at Kurtatchi they were expecting contingents from the whole of the north coast of Bougainville and all the islands of Buka. Failure to provide enough food for the assembled multitude would in the olden days have resulted in a fight ending in the breaking up of the village, and even now resentment would be shown by wanton damage to taro crops and coco-nut palms, if nothing worse.

Meanwhile, a palisade has been erected round the 'long house', so high that the women cannot see over it. Then the men go into the bush and fetch two tall trees. Young canarium almonds are frequently chosen for this purpose, owing to their tall slender trunks, though they are not felled under ordinary circumstances, as their nuts are highly prized as an article of diet. If there is a *wapi* ceremony going on anywhere in the neighbourhood, these trees must be pulled up by the roots instead of being felled, otherwise the *urar* who are about in the bush will be angry.

The selected trees are called *roror*. They are brought near, but

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Then the men go into the bush and cut down wild areca-nut palms and make planks which they bring to the village. They make a long platform like a bridge, supported on poles stuck in the ground, leading from the front verandah of the hut to the banana palm, between the two rows of saplings.

One of the two girls who have been keeping the menstruating girl company now comes out of the hut, walks along this bridge, and climbs up the banana palm. She sits down on top of the bunch of bananas. This girl is called *mani*, 'the opossum'. I could get no explanation for the use of this term. The girl chosen must be too young to menstruate, and is usually about seven or eight, judging from the appearance of the children who were pointed out as being of the right size to act as *mani*.

The girl for whom the ceremony is being performed now comes out of the hut for the first time since the flow began. By this time it will have finished. She wears round her waist a series of girdles made of the outer bark of the banana palm, some scraped and dried in the sun, with a pattern cut on them; other girdles are made of a white cane, and others still of the same cane (rattan, I think) dyed red with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). She also wears a plaited and twisted belt (*sosui*) of the inner skin of the bush banana, similar to that sometimes seen at dances. There are five different kinds of girdles altogether. From them, in front, is suspended a bunch of leaves (*onon*), chosen either for their decorative appearance, or for their aromatic properties. A long list of native names of leaves suitable for this purpose was given to me. These must not be cut, but must be pulled up by the roots. The roots are left attached, and are bound round with lengths of ceremonial currency, both shell and teeth. The roots must be uppermost, coming up on to the girl's chest; the leaves hang down in front of her, the fastening being at about the level of the navel. She must wear no other covering. Her hair is painted with the pattern called *waputan urits*, i.e. a red stripe in the middle, going from forehead to back of neck, a stripe of black on either side, then another stripe of red on the outer side of the black stripes, these red ones reaching down to the ears. Her temples and forehead are edged with white paint. Round her neck she wears a *pirir* (ornament made of clam shell with overlay of tortoise-shell filigree work, see Pl. 68).

She walks along the bridge and climbs up into the banana palm, sitting down just below the bunch of fruit, on a small plank which

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both feet, hissing the while, in a series of jerks. (This is different from the ordinary dance steps as performed by the women at other times, and I did not see it done on any other occasion.) Some women formed lines and danced together, some danced alone. Nawi danced also. This went on for a long time.

September 17. Nawi can now walk about the village, but she must not go to the taro garden nor do any work.

This state of things continued till

September 20. On this day Nawi went for the first time to fetch water, but she must not yet go to the taro garden.

On September 21 I was unfortunately obliged to leave the village for a few days. When I returned, Nawi was working as usual, but neither she nor any one else could tell me which day she first went to the taro garden. It was definitely more than ten days from the time of the first appearance of the flux.

As I went on my way I met a man from Baniu, who said he had come to fetch Nawi and take her to Tendru, a village farther along the coast, where there was to be a cicatrization ceremony, at which she would be 'cut', together with three other girls. I was invited to attend, but when I went to the village on the appointed day I found that Nawi had run away into the bush and refused to go, and her parents said they would not insist on her undergoing the operation. One of the other girls, from another village, had also run away, and a third was ill. Since only one candidate remained, the ceremony did not take place.

DETAILS OF MIXTURE USED IN NAWI'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

The following description of the preparation of roots and leaves used for the drink which was shared on the third day of the proceedings was given me subsequently, by the men who made it. These were three of the younger men of the village, Wasɛ, Tchub, and Bwapip; they did it because Tchub knew the method of making it, having been taught by his mother and father (his father has been dead for some time, his mother is alive and resides in the village, but she did not superintend the preparation of the mixture). None of the men is related to Nawi, but all belong to the same clan. I think, however, that this is not essential.

A stand must be made from the branches of a tree called *awitʃ*. This is done by setting up four straight branches about 3 feet in

881 height, pushing them firmly into the ground (the floor of the hut)
272 to make the corners of a square. Cross-pieces are then tied on to
824 the four corner sticks for the sides of the square, and about a foot
417 from the top other pieces are fastened to these for the bottom. This stand, when finished, is called *taraki*. It is lined with the leaves of the special kind of banana palm which is used in the full ceremony. All the women present must drink the special mixture from the *taraki* direct, drawing it up through a length of bamboo, but some of it is put into a *kōbū* and set aside for the men.

881 The mixture put into the *taraki* is called *anam*. It is made as
272 follows: Make a bundle containing portions of the root of a certain
824 tree, and scrapings from the bark of a number of others, whose native names were given to me; I cannot give their botanical names, but I know that they are all hard-timbered trees, and are chosen for the purpose of 'making the girl's belly strong', so that she will not menstruate again too soon. Add to these the scraped outer skin of the stem of a very tough bush creeper. Then take the young leaves of a number of aromatic plants, to make the mixture smell nice. Only the top of the plants, with fresh young leaves, must be used. Take also a piece of sugar-cane broken from the middle of the stalk. Pound up all the leaves to pulp by means of stones. Take a leaf of *tskō* (a large smooth-leaved plant constantly used for wrapping up packages of food, both for carrying and for cooking purposes), and lay the pounded pulp on it, then take the rest of the ingredients previously mentioned, and lay them on top of the pulp. Sprinkle a quantity of the red powder called *owan* over the whole.

This mixture is prepared beforehand. At the time of the ceremony, the bundle is opened a little, and a hole is made in the bottom of it. One man holds it over the *taraki*, and then over the *kōbū* which the men will drink out of, while another pours coco-nut milk through the package into these receptacles. The coco-nuts must be young, with the meat still soft (*mayur*). Then some which have a little firmer meat (*wiri*) must be cut; their milk is also poured through the package. Then comes the milk of coco-nuts which are nearly ripe (*wakamitskoma*), which is not considered palatable in the ordinary way. Finally the meat of a ripe (dry) coco-nut (*makai*) is scraped and squeezed through a piece of coco-nut fibre; the expressed oil is added to the mixture. One man holds the package, one holds the piece of fibre, another brings and manipulates the coco-nuts. By thus pouring the milk of coco-nuts through

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fact that it has been castrated and that its ears and tail have been cut. It is always set at liberty. On one occasion a pig was caught which had not had its ears cut, although it had undergone castration. It was claimed by one of the men as his, a claim which no one questioned. A mark was cut in its ears and a piece of its tail was snipped off; it was then let loose again. 231

Pigs caught in such a drive are the joint property of all the men who took part in the hunt. After being cut up and cooked the meat is divided between them. On one occasion I wanted some pig-meat for my servant, and being uncertain who was entitled to be paid for it, was directed to offer the appropriate stick of tobacco to the *tsunaun*, which appeared to be satisfactory to every one concerned. 224 [565]

A pig killed in the bush is cooked and eaten the same day at the evening meal. But when wanted for a ceremony, the pigs are, if possible, brought back to the village alive, to be killed just before they are required. An enclosure of logs is put up on the outskirts of the village in which to keep such pigs, and they are fed on coco-nut meat and odd scraps by the women night and morning, like the domestic pigs. But they do not live long in this confinement. 264 796 [417]

On one occasion the Petats people were anxious to secure a number of pigs, but had hunted for two days in succession with very poor results. Three pigs had been caught, but one had died, and one had been set free as somebody's property, leaving only one rather small animal to show for their two days' arduous labour. So they decided to make 'net medicine' (*tahaun*). The nets were piled up beside the road which runs down the length of the island. A group of men gathered round one of the older men, who was squatting near the side of the road chewing the betel-mixture. None of the others was chewing at this time. After a while he took a stalk of cordyline, and tied all the leaves together in a bunch with a piece of grass. Some powdered lime lay beside him in a pandanus leaf. He took a pinch of this and put it among the cordyline leaves. Presently he spat the red saliva out of his mouth on to the leaves in four places, and laid the cordyline stalk upright against a tree. Then there was an interval of several minutes, during which everybody present smoked and talked. Then, without warning, the principal performer snatched up the bunch of cordyline, and turning very suddenly, whipped the pile of nets with it. He struck 224 789

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The whole thing is then turned upside down, and a long, curved stick, made of the root of a tree called *tɔ̃to*, is fastened on at each end, down the join, as far as the tip of the middle plank (*watēn*) by lashings of *asam* passed through holes in the stick and the planks on each side of it (Fig. 20). The other end of this end-keel (*lamut*)

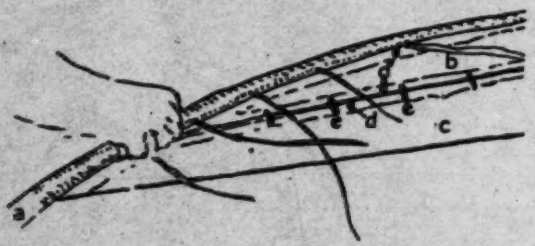

FIG. 20. Fastening of *lamut*. (*a*) *lamut*; (*b*) *pāl*; (*c*) *bdtawa*.

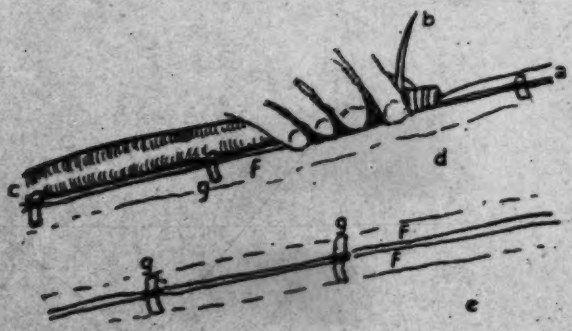

FIG. 21. Method of fastening end of *lamut*. (*a*) *watēn*; (*b*) fastening; (*c*) *lamut*; (*d*) *pāl*; (*e*) *bdtawa*; (*f*) bevelled edge of planks; (*g*) ties of *asam* fixing planks together.

projects for several feet, curling down over the canoe. The point of junction with the tip of the *watēn* is bound round with several turns of *asam*, great care being taken to make it secure (Fig. 21). The *lamut* is used on both ends of the canoe, which are identical on the outside. Inside, the difference is that the stern is furnished with a single seat for the steersman, while the bow usually has a small space without seats, used for cargo.

In this condition the canoe is usually left for a day or two. Up to now the work may have been done on the beach, but it is necessary after this to work in the shade, so it is brought into a shed,

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and put on a stand consisting of logs (*papan*) resting on forked sticks (*atōn*) at a height convenient for working. It is now turned over again, so that the end of the *lamut* curves upwards. Some strong creeper (*wawal*) is tied round the bottom plank, threaded through between the two adjacent planks, and fastened round the *papan*, so as to fix the canoe securely to the stand. Lengths of creeper are also passed through between the side planks. These side planks are now pressed outwards by pushing between them a couple of stout sticks about 2 feet long, pushing against one side while resting the other end of the sticks against the other side. Suddenly the whole thing opens with a cracking noise. The outer planks are then pulled down and tied firmly to the supporting logs by means of the strings threaded between them. This pulls them still farther apart, till all five lie almost in a flat plane. Some considerable pressure is needed to pull down the second side after the first side is secured. Both ends of what are now the outer planks are then tied firmly round their tips, binding them together and to the end-keel.

Women or boys are now pressed into service for grinding up the 'putty nut'. This is done on lumps of brain coral. When freshly ground it is of a pinkish-yellow colour, but rapidly turns red. In a few days it has become dark red, and in a few weeks quite black, and very hard. It must be used when freshly picked and freshly grated, and must be put on rapidly in the shade, as it begins to harden very quickly. It is thickly plastered over all the seams, on both sides, by means of the worker's fingers (Pl. 51 *a*, *b*). There is then an interval of several days to allow the seams to harden.

When work is resumed, the supporting sticks are removed, and the holes which were left because of their presence when the seams were 'puttied' are filled in. In cutting the third pair of planks (*bdtawa*) a ledge (*bēbēkil*) is left running inwards for about a foot from each end. Holes are made in these ledges opposite one another, the distances between them, about 2½ inches, being carefully measured with a piece of fibre. Short, stout braces (also called *bēbēkil*) are wedged in between the planks, and tied into place through these holes. After being placed in position, the *bēbēkil* are served with *asam* over their whole length. Six is the usual number for a small or medium-sized *mon*. Their object is to strengthen the canoe at its slender, pointed ends.

The new put in posts for

them to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by gestures.)

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently.

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy.

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries.

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done. The blood is caught in a *kōbū* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred

[i.e. poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

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because the Tabut people were sorry for the *ruanbē* (husband's parents) of Moras, the sister of the dead boys, and were not reward for the ritual weeping. Parties of women sometimes go to watch by a sick person; they will be given areca-nut and coco-nuts, some of which they will eat as they sit there; what remains will be carried home when they leave.

When guests are invited from distant villages to attend a ceremony it is customary to provide spreads of food, placed on platforms at intervals in the bush along the route, with which they can refresh themselves during the journey (*taran in a ken* means to prepare a spread of this kind). When we walked to the hill country to attend the *wapi* ceremony we came to three such places of refreshment. They took the form of a platform made of boughs, on which was placed a number of baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves plaited containing pieces of roast pig and boiled taros; others filled with the eggs of the megapode, almost ready to hatch, cooked and done up in leaves. There were also large packets of ceremonial pudding. Huge bunches of areca-nuts, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper. Guests were supposed to provide their own lime. All along the edge of the platform were hung rows of coco-nuts. The effect was most lavish. We were also plentifully supplied with similar food at the ceremony itself, consuming it in the intervals of waiting. Such displays are not entirely prompted by generosity, or even the desire to make a show, since it is the custom, when guests think that the food provided for them is inadequate, to take revenge by wrecking their hosts' plantations, breaking down their coco-nut and areca palms, and spearing their pigs. It is said that in the olden days the angry guests even went so far as to burn the village and kill many of the inhabitants, including women and children. But, on the other hand, ostentatious display of wealth by single individuals is avoided for fear of 'poison'. They say that if a man prepares a very lavish feast, all the men who know how to make poison say: 'This fellow has made a big feast, we must kill him.' 'They are angry with the man who has done so well at getting food and so they make him die with their bad medicine.'

GIFTS

People are entitled to ask for areca-nuts, coco-nuts, &c., from those who stand to them in the relation of *kiar* (sibling of the same

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tsunaun tʃan at Tabut, because his forefathers had sold the land where the village of Tabut now stands to Karabun's forefathers for a sum which, Pinari contended, covered only the site of the village, and not the bush behind it, potentially useful for taro gardens. The other side claimed that the payment made for the village site was enough for this also. Pinari used to make spasmodic attempts to extract additional payment from Karabun, but without success. 425 565

Land thus vested in the *tsunaun* descends of right to his heir to this office, his eldest sister's eldest son. But all the people of the group have the right to hunt or to gather wild fruits or berries in it, and to take water or fish from pools, or leaves for thatch, &c., irrespective of clan. 423 565

Certain spots, a particular group of rocks, a clump of trees, a pool, are considered to be the special property of one or other of the clans, because some spirit is supposed to dwell there who is intimately concerned with that particular clan. This subject will be further discussed in Chapter XV. 423 614

The amount of land to be cleared for a new taro garden is decided by discussion, according to the purpose for which the taro is required. The garden is held in common in so far as it is enclosed by one fence, which all the men help to erect, but each man sets up a certain portion of this fence, which he is responsible for keeping in good condition. The Petats people divided the plots according to the uprights in the fence, each man taking, as a rule, the space between two uprights for each of his dependants, e.g. wives and children. The Kurtatchi people divide the garden by means of logs laid on the ground (see Pl. 40). At the original division which takes place when the worst of the bush has been cleared from the new garden, each man will take a plot for each of his wives, one for his sister if she be a widow living in the same village, and sometimes others for his children. A little girl can own a plot of taro, which her mother will help her to tend. The mother will probably destroy this taro if the child dies. For the further clearing of these plots from underbrush the man who annexed them is personally responsible, and his womenfolk must plant it and keep it weeded. They are entitled to take the produce for themselves and their families. If any one wants more taro than there is on her own plot, 417 423 621 423

earlier deals are still the subject of dispute, the natives asserting that the white men did not pay all that they promised.

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situations, unless something has taken place which has aroused ancient conflicts and brought them again into prominence in the mind of the dreamer.' It was perhaps fortunate for the dreamers that I am not a trained psycho-analyst!

2. 'Dreams which tell or enact a connected story and have an evident meaning, but their contents, in whole or in part, strike us as unnatural, and we cannot fit them into the fabric of our waking life.'

Certain incidents in otherwise rational dreams bring them into this category. Two dreams illustrating this point, which have not previously been quoted, are here given:

No. 39. Togen (adult male).

I dreamed about a big *mon* (plank canoe); we caught a pig and put it in the *mon*, and we went ashore at a big village, and the people carried the *mon* to the bottom of a cliff, and we went up by a ladder (i.e. a notched tree trunk which is placed against the steepest rocks to enable them to be climbed) and the ladder waved from side to side (illustrating by motions of his hand) as we went up it. Then the people cut up the pig, and one man took pieces of the pig and took them to every house. This is a good dream. I thought it was true.

No. 61. Komun (adult female).

I dreamed an *urur* ran after me. I went up in the air, my hands waving about, I had nothing to take hold of. I said: 'What shall I hold on to?' But I did not fall down. Then I made a noise like this (she illustrated by grunting and panting). Presently I was walking along the road with Pinari (her husband) and we went to the shore, and all the women were making coco-nut-leaf baskets. I went inside a hole and went to sleep. Then Pinari told me to tell the women to fill up the water coco-nuts[1] with pig's fat. I did not want to. I said: 'I don't want all the women to be angry and say bad things about me.' This is a bad dream. (The dreamer was unable to give any reason for saying so.)

3. 'Dreams of which the content is bizarre, confused, and nonsensical; such dreams often have a peculiar quality of unreality, and can scarcely, if at all, be related to waking thought. . . . Much

[1] These are the cleaned-out coco-nut shells which serve the women for water-bottles. They are much-cherished possessions, the more so as it is a matter of considerable time and trouble to remove the 'meat' through the 'eye' of the coco-nut. To defile them in the manner suggested in the dream would be gravely resented. It may be noted, in connexion with this dream, that the dreamer was at the time pregnant by a man other than her husband, and had been the subject of much gossip in the village, the more so because her husband is the most important tomaun in the place.